ARGUMENTS *PRO* and *CON*, IN SEVERAL SPEECHES For and Againſt an IMPEACHMENT.

Proveniebant Oratores novi, Stulti, Adoleſcentuli.
NÆVIUS in Cicerone.

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SPEECH I.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

I AM not inſenſible, my L—s, that what I am going to offer, will not be ſo agreeable to ſome Gentlemen, who have endeavour'd with their Clamours, to hinder or intimidate the true Lovers of their Country, the Laws, our Liberty, and our Religion, as I could wiſh all Things that contribute to the Safety of them, were to every Member that has the Honour to ſit here. But, my L—s, I never intend to make the Threats, Murmurs or Clamours of the Enemies of my Country, the Guide and Meaſure of my Actions; and I ſhall never fear to propoſe any Thing for the Safety, Honour, Liberty, or Religion of my dear Country, tho' by ſo doing, I ſhould diſoblige the moſt intimate of my Acquaintance; for Friend I ſhall never call any one, with whom I might have the Misfortune of an Intimacy, who could either by Want of Underſtanding, or Honeſty, or for any private Aim, or View, engage in Meaſures diſadvantagious to any of thoſe ſacred Conſiderations I have mention'd.

I think, my L—s, it is pretty viſible to all *Europe*, that ſome Men, who have had the Advantage of the Ear of our late Sovereign LADY, of pious Memory,

have ſhamefully turn'd to the Ruin of our dear Country, in it's Trade, it's Power, it's Honour, Juſtice, and Safety.

THEY have had the Aſſurance to complain of being prejudg'd, tho' when they had Power, they could vote a noble Lord an Enemy to his Country, for a Treaty which ſecur'd to us the ineſtimable Bleſſing of His Majeſty's Reign, and yet would never do him the Juſtice to bring him to a Trial, and hear what he had to offer in his own Defence. The ſame Set of Men impeach'd Four other noble Lords for the *Partition-Treaty*, but would never make good their Charge according to the Parliamentary Methods. But this I ſhall obſerve, that if the giving ſo ſmall a Part, and that of little Conſideration, to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, were a Crime worthy of Impeachment, certainly the ſurrendring the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in it's moſt valuable Part, all *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, to that Houſe, muſt be proportionably more criminal, and by Conſequence as much more worthy of Conſideration.

IF the Honour of your Country be prejudic'd, if you are look'd on by *Europe* as League-Breakers, and Men negligent of the ſolemn Engagements of Alliances, it is your Buſineſs to do yourſelves and the Nation Juſtice, by calling thoſe Men to an Account who have brought this Infamy upon you. If you would give Credit to the Nation, to make freſh Alliances with foreign Princes, to ſecure your common Liberties, and very Exiſtence, you muſt puniſh thoſe who have endeavour'd to make the World believe, that no Alliances with us can be ſecure, or depended upon.

THE Eyes of all *Europe* are upon you; I am not urging you to condemn any Man unheard; bring thoſe to their Trials, who have had a Hand in theſe Tranſactions, and then condemn or acquit them. Your Country, your Laws, your Liberties, your Religion, are Objects worthy the Care of Patriots; and theſe all commend themſelves to you on this great Emergence.

SPEECH

SPEECH II.

Againſt the IMPEACHMENT.

MY L—s, I have been accus'd of being always too much upon the Reſerve, as never to ſpeak my Mind in plain, direct, and intelligible Terms: I hope I have lately in Print remov'd that Obloquy, by an open Sincerity, which may, perhaps, be thought leſs prudent than my uſual Caution has allow'd. I ſhall, however, here purſue the very ſame Manner, and lay down my Sentiments with a Frankneſs, that nothing but a good Conſcience could afford.

I muſt therefore tell you, my L—s, that I am very much ſurpris'd at that Noble L—s Speech, who ſpoke laſt. What a Noiſe has he made of his *Country*, the *Public Good*, *Liberty*, *Laws*, and the like! and with an Air uncommon, urges my Impeachment for betraying my Country, for deſtroying the public Faith, and a great many of theſe Good-morrows. My L—s, this *Cant* might do well enough among the *Vulgar* without Doors, and might ſpirit a Mob up, to put that Power in ſome of your Hands, which was once in mine: But to make ſuch a Clamour of it within theſe Walls, amazes me more than any public Pretence whatever, tho' never ſo ill grounded. My L—s, I hope you will be more juſt to yourſelves, and to me, than to let my Life be thrown up to that Cry, in which there is no real Subſtance.

Is there any Man among you, whoſe real Aim is not *Power*, *Wealth*, *Dignity*? Is there any Man among you, who makes the *Public Good*, the *Safety*, *Hon[illegible]*, and

Glory

Glory of his *Country*, and his *Prince*, the Standard of his Actions, and the Meaſure of his Conduct? Is there any Man among you, who does not in all he does, firſt conſider how to eſtabliſh his *own Power*, his *own Family*, his *own Honour*, and next, (or perhaps not at all) how to make theſe join in with the real, at leaſt apparent Good of his Country? If the Public Good happen to be improv'd by your Adminiſtration, that is only owing to a lucky Chance, to a fortunate Conjuncture of Affairs, and not to your Merit, your real, and diſintereſted Zeal, your *Roman Love* for your Country, or the very Prince that made you.

GIVE me Leave, my L——s, to prove my Aſſertion by undeniable Fact, and then I ſhall own ſo much of my Charge, that the Aim of *my* Adminiſtration, was, to confirm my *Power*, increaſe my *Wealth*, my *Dignity*, and eſtabliſh my *Family:* Nor ſhall I, however, omit the Proof of the Juſtice and Wiſdom of the Meaſures I have taken; and ſhew, that wherever I have err'd, the *Whiggs* have been the ſole Cauſe of it.

THO' I might give various Inſtances of the Meaſures taken by the *Whigs*, that were only calculated for the Support of their preſent *Power*, or to their gaining a *future*, yet I ſhall reſtrain my ſelf to one; becauſe the Ground of their preſent Power, is built on a Merit directly contrary to what is juſtly to be granted to be their Deſert. They are repreſented as the *only* Objects of His Majeſty's Favour, as being the *only*, *true* Friends to the HANOVER SUCCESSION. But my L——s, if I can ſhew theſe very Men making a *Property* of this SUCCESSION, nay, refuſing to ſecure it, joining with the *Jacobites* againſt it's Security, and this only for Fear, out of a Jealouſy that its entire Security being obtain'd, or even firſt made by the *Tories*, might leſſen their Power, and render the Poſſeſſion of their Dignities very dubious, I hope you will then allow, that I have gain'd my Point, and acquit me, when I ſhall ſhew, that all that I have done, during my whole Miniſtry, was directed to the ſame End,

End, and conducted by the ſame Meaſures; and if I have in any Thing gone counter to the *Good of our Country*, it has been their Faults, who render'd it impoſſible for me to be in Power, and a true Patriot at once.

I think it is pretty plain to common Senſe, that nothing could have been a more *infallible Security* to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, than the Preſence of the *Proteſtant Heirs*; by which Means they could, without the leaſt Hazard, have been ready to ſtep into the Throne on a Demiſe. But when this was propos'd in a Parliamentary Way, who was it oppos'd it? Who quaſh'd it? Who voted *Proſecutions*, for the vindicating of this *infallible Security*? Why the *Whigs*; thoſe very Gentlemen, who now accuſe me of ſacrificing all to the eſtabliſhing my own Family, and my own Power. What was objected againſt this Invitation of the *Proteſtant Heir*? Only what *Leſly*, and the *Jacobites* themſelves objected; that it was not *complaiſant* to Her Majeſty; that it put Her in mind of a Coffin, and the like. But my L——s, if the *Whigs* were actuated by that *publick Spirit*, the *Good of their Country*, and the like ſpecious Pretences, of what Conſequence was the momentaneous Diſquiet of a Princeſs, who was the eaſieſt in the World to be brought to like Meaſures, that were repreſented for the Good of Her Country? But that this was in Reality only a Complement to their own Power, not to Her Majeſty's Quiet, is plain from the little Regard they had to it, in their Clamour for the Preſence of the Duke of *Cambridge*, the preſent moſt Serene Prince of *WALES*, when Her Majeſty had been much more alarm'd with Fears that way, than before. The Truth of the Fact is, that on the firſt Occaſion the *Whigs* were in *Power*; on the ſecond, they were out of all manner of Poſts.

THIS, I hope, will be ſufficient to prove, that all of us of both Sides, let us put on what Vizor we pleaſe to the People, either our only or chief Aim is at our *own Power*, *Wealth*, and *Dignity*; and therefore I hope you

you will hear me with Patience, when I ſhall ſhew, that I have purſu'd this End as faithfully as I could; and if I have taken Meaſures that you Gentlemen did not like, as contrary to yours, it was entirely your own Faults, ſince you would not truſt me, when you could not leſſen my Power; which oblig'd me to join with *Tory*, *Jacobite*, or any one; or to quit that Power which I ow'd to my own Induſtry and Underſtanding. When you will produce any one of the Party, who would quit his Power with his Prince when he could maintain it, then I will heartily ſubmit to an *Impeachment*, *Attainder*, or even the *Scaffold*, without a Murmur. Give me Leave therefore, to give you a ſhort and ſummary Hiſtory of the whole Affair, from the Riſe of my *Prime Miniſtry*, to my Loſs of the *Staff*.

My Deſign on my Advancement, was not to alter the Meaſures abroad, except in the rectifying ſome Things, and bringing our Allies to a more punctual Performance of their Stipulations, that the Burden of the War might be more equally born. Nor was I reſolv'd not to purſue the ſame Meaſures of Adminiſtration, and even with the ſame Perſons, except a very few. But I diſplac'd all the *Whigs*, true; but their Clamours compell'd me to it. I diſſolv'd the Parliament, true; but if I had not, they would have diſſolved me, or what is all one, deſtroy'd my Power and Dignity. This was but *Self-Preſervation*. But I made twelve Lords at once, to the Diſgrace of the Order, merely to ſave my ſelf. Confeſt, had I any other Way to eſcape? If not, why ſhould I not make uſe of the only Means left, to ſecure me from the vigorous, nay, deadly Attacks of my Enemies. If it be any Reflection, I take it to be on thoſe worthy Perſons, who were ſo zealous in my Cauſe, as to proſtitute their Reputations and Honour, to ſave a Friend in Danger. 'Tis ſaid, there is no greater Love, than to die for a Friend; yet, I am perſwaded, that to confeſs one's ſelf a *Tool*, and to ſacrifice the very Character of a Gentleman, for a Friend, is a Piece of more exalted

Friend-

Friendſhip, than to die for him. Such Friends, had they been but conſtant, had indeed been as valuable as neceſſary, to a Stateſman who had ſuch Difficulties to ſtruggle with, and ſuch Deſigns to carry on.

THE Affair of the *Catalans* is the next Thing laid to my Charge, and that with the odious Suggeſtion of having abandon'd a *faithful* People, whom we had drawn into a terrible War, to the Ruin of their Country, leaving them without ſufficient Care to preſerve them from the Reſentment of the *Spaniſh* King, by not obliging that Prince to preſerve their Lives, Liberties, Privileges, *&c.* on a Foot with thoſe of his other Subjects. But, my L——s, upon a full Examination of this Affair, it was found, that we had fully and punctually diſcharg'd all Engagements to them; had obtain'd Safety, an Act of Oblivion, and a Grant of as great Priviliges to them, as they enjoy'd when we firſt engag'd with them; that we left them in the Care of the Emperor, whoſe Subjects they choſe to be, and whoſe Duty it was to have taken care of them, and to have made farther Conditions for them, if it had been reaſonable; and who could not be ſaid, not to have been as able to defend them as they were afterwards to defend themſelves. That, however, the Obſtancy of the *Catalans*, and their demanding ſuch Privileges to be reſtor'd to them, as they had loſt before we were any Way concern'd with them; which Priviliges we never undertook to procure for them, nor could reaſonably expect, has been the only true Cauſe of their Misfortunes.

YET, my L——s, we made ſuch preſſing Inſtances, both at the *Spaniſh* and *French* Courts, for the Peace and Privileges of this unhappy People, that it was confeſs'd, that more could not have been done; and that the *Catalans* were ſo reſolute, and inſiſted on ſuch Grants, as no Sovereign could be ſuppos'd to ſtoop to.

THINGS appearing in this fair Light, on a full Examination into the matter, it was confeſs'd by ſome Men of Honour of the contrary Party, that

they did not think that the Miniſtry had acted ſo far for the Intereſt of the *Catalans*, and that it was impoſſible to do more, than to continue the ſame preſſing Inſtances with the King of *Spain* in their Favour.

THE next Crime they lay to my Charge, is, my diſtributing Penſions among ſome of the *Highland Clans* in *Scotland*, which, by thoſe firſt, who were either willing to conceal what they knew, or really knew no better, was Suggeſted to be a Secret ſupporting of the *Jacobites*, Enemies to the Conſtitution, and were Favourers of the Pretender, and the like. Bnt when theſe Things were examin'd into in the Houſe of Peers, the People deſcrib'd the Nature of the Place, the Perſons to whom, and the End for which this Money was paid; how ſmall a ſum it was, how effectually it had anſwer'd the End; and above all, when it appear'd, that the like Sum for the like Ends, was diſtributed during the former Miniſtry; that by this Means, ſo many, and ſuch powerful *Clans* were kept iu their Duty, in the Intereſt of the Government, and prevented from taking the like, or greater Penſions, to enter into Engagements with *France*; it was acknowledg'd, that the money was well employ'd.

THE laſt Charge, and ſomething a-kin to the former, is, my employing of profeſs'ſt *Jacobites*, and thoſe the very Leaders of that Party in *Scotland*. I confeſs there was admitted into the Miniſtry, a Party, Who being really *Jacobites* in their Principles, went on with the Miniſtry, in Hopes of finding an Opportunity out of the general Diſtractions, to produce ſomething to the Advantage of the Party they adher'd to, and to promote the Intereſt of the Pretender. Theſe were ſo far impos'd on, as to believe, that the altering the Succeſſion, was entertain'd by the Managers with whom they acted, Nor was this, my L--, in my Opinion, an impolitick Step in me, if I took any Methods to nouriſh their Folly, in that Notion, ſince it not only engag'd them heartily in the Meaſures

ſures of the *Miniſtry*, bnt effectually took them off ſtom all their other *Jacobite* Projects, and from their foreign Intereſts and Expectations; and turn'd their Hands and Eyes to a fooliſh Hope and Aſſurauce, in which had they had the leaſt Foreſight, they could not but ſee they were dropp'd in the Beginning, and muſt be effectually diſappointed in the End. Nothing, indeed could be more abſurd, than this Phantom of the *Jacobites*, in believing me in their Intereſt; but by entertaining that Dream, they ham-ſtring'd their Cauſe, and ſuffer'd themſelves to be made the Inſtruments and Agents, to make that impoſſible, which they fancy'd they were bringing about. This Fancy made them be choſen Members, accept of Places, and paſs ſuch Acts as loſt them with their Party in *Scotland*, and created ſuch a Diffidence among them, that mutual Confidence was deſtroy'd, and ſo all their Aims to act againſt the Conſtitution and the Pretender, wholly reduc'd to nothing.

THUS far, my L—, I have gone in Juſtification of my ſelf againſt thoſe *imaginary* Crimes that are laid to my Charge by the Enemies of my Adminiſtration; and, I hope, I have ſufficiently juſtify'd my ſelf to Men of *your* Knowledge, Penetration, and Experience in the *Practice* of Mankind; againſt which I flatter my ſelf, you will not let mere *ſpeculative* Notions prevail to my Prejudice; Notions, how beautiful and entertaining ſoever to the Fancy of Men unacquainted with *Buſineſs*, are yet fitter for ſuch Amuſements as the *Republic of Plato*, *Entopia*, and the like *Syſtematical Politics*, than for the Dregs of our Age. *Cicero* accus'd *Cato* of this Fault, that he ſpoke as if he liv'd *in Republicâ Platonis non in Fæce ROMULI*; by that plainly inſinuating, that he was a Man wholly unfit for the Affairs of *ROME*, which were, in his Time at leaſt, on a much different Bottom.

BUT If I have, my L—, as I perſuade my ſelf I have, ſufficiently remov'd all the Crimes thrown on me by my Accuſers; I queſtion not, but that the af-

ter-Services I did the Nation, in oppoſing the violent Meaſures purpos'd by my Collegues, will merit the Thanks of this Houſe, and indeed, of all the People that are now enrag'd againſt me.

My L—, when I had victoriouſly carry'd my Point in all Things, and the diſplac'd Party had nothing to do, but to deſpair; then was the real Conflict greater than ever; for I had much more Difficulty to reſtrain the Rage of thoſe who were for uſing this Advantage, and entirely cruſhing and oppreſſing thoſe whom I had reduc'd than I had either to reduce them, or preſerve my ſelf. My L—, I confeſs that I proceeded with a ſtedy Reſolution to maintain the Power and Authority I poſſeſs'd; but that Victory being obtain'd I had no farther Schemes of Oppoſition to purſue: No, my L—, it was never in my Deſign to cruſh and ruin the perſons I had this Struggle againſt, or to erect any Dominion over them, as *Britons*; I had no *State-Tyranny* to ſet up, nor ſecret Deſigns to deſtroy the Conſtitution. This was the Cauſe of that mortal Breach between me and the reſt, which is too well known to inſiſt on.

But, my L—, the Hands the Obſtinacy of the diſplac'd Party oblig'd me to make Uſe of, were not the moſt eaſy in the World to be govern'd; one Part of which, I told you, were real *Jacobites*, and the Advantages I made of them in the Government, I have ſhewn you; another Part were a Set of high, hot, out of Temper *Politicians*, whoſe View was within themſelves, and who acted upon Principles of abſolute Government. Theſe, my L—, found me a great deal of Trouble, for they puſh'd hard to introduce the tyrannical Part into my Adminiſtartion. To oblige me to it by their Numbers, they ſeparated from me, and ſet up the *October Club*, and pretended to act on their own Schemes, directly deſtructive of the diſplac'd Party, and, indeed, of the Conſtitution, and themſelves too; I therefore, by ſecret and gentle Ways, ſeparated this Faction, ſo that in ſix Months Time, there was not ſo much

much as the very Name of the *October Club* to be heard of in the World. Nay, I acted with that Addreſs, that I loſt not the Men, by deſtroying their Meaſures, but rang'd them under my own Banner, to carry on my Deſigns. This was a conſiderable Victory, my L—, for without it, I had my ſelf been loſt. My L—, after this, I endeavour'd to act between the Extreams of both Parties; and tho', by this Method, I was ſenſible I ſhould pleaſe neither, yet I found that Method of Moderation could only ſupport the Government, and that Time and Temper would carry the Point.

The hot Ones had long ſtrove to bring me to their Meaſures, urging, that it was now high Time to ſtrike home, and give the *Whigs* the *Coup de Grace*, that they might die at once, to turn out every *Whig*, or *moderate Man* in the Nation, to carry a *ſtreight Reign*, and make the Government formidable, extend the *Prerogative*, and make the People know their Duty. They urg'd, that to rule by Law, was to put the Laws in Execution, to make the Law a Terror to the *People*, and not to the *Miniſtry*: That they had gain'd an entire Victory, the Benefit of which, was not to be loſt for want of a vigorous following of the Blow; that now was the Time of effectually ſuppreſſing the *Whigs*, and that one home Blow would now knock them down for ever.

I, on the contrary, my L—, could not be brought to liſten to their Fury; nay, I preach'd up Moderation to them, as their Intereſt, and greateſt Security for, as Temper and Moderation had given them all the Advantages they had gain'd; ſo was it the only Way to ſecure themſelves in thoſe very Advantages; whereas the contrary Meaſures, as they were unpopular, and productive of Enemies and general Hatred, ſo would certainly be their Ruin. To this I added the Caſe of the *Succeſſion*, in Terms as lively and preſſing as I was able; repreſenting, that if the People ſhould once have a general Notion, that they were not Friends to the *Hanover Succeſſion*, they muſt be certainly ſplit

upon

upon that Rock. But I could not beat it into their impenetrable Heads, that it was their Intereſt, as the *Miniſtry*, to be well with the Princes of that Houſe, and to let them ſee that they were entirely in their Intereſt, rendering themſelves by that Means, the real Support of the Succeſſion, and that the Houſe of *Hanover* ſhould ſucceed on the Foot of their Adminiſtration.

But, my L—, all I could ſay, had no manner of Effect upon them, except to fix their Reſolutions againſt all moderate Meaſures, and every Thing that was oppoſite to their own. So that they now not only refus'd to concert with me the Meaſures of their future Conduct, but oppos'd me in all that I went about. Hence ſuch a Breach enſu'd, that no Friends could make up; they gave out to their Friends, that I was a *Whig* in my Heart; that as I was bred a Fanatick, ſo I yet retain'd a warm Side to the *Diſſenters*; that I had hitherto only acted a Part with the *High-Church*, taking them in but as Tools, becauſe I could not do without them, the *Whigs* refuſing to truſt, or put any Confidence in me.

They were ſatisfy'd, that theſe Clamours might vent their Paſſions, but could not diſgrace me with Her Majeſty, unleſs they could have ſome Facts to charge me with, which would give Her Majeſty Doubts of my ſincere Intention to the Church. But, my L—s, with my uſual Addreſs, I gelt the Bill againſt *Private Academies*, &c. which was to be the Touch-ſtone of my Orthodoxy, and took from it all its perſecuting Power, and then gave my Vote for it, and ſo diſappointed all their Malice to me, in this Attempt.

Another Thing they made uſe of againſt me, was, my Zeal for the Houſe of *Hanover*, in preſſing the Payment of the *Hanover* Troops, which yet they hinder'd; and at the ſame Time poſſeſs'd the Queen, as if I had urg'd ſomething injurious to Her Honour, and that I had form'd an Intereſt in *Hanover*, at Her Majeſty's

Majeſty's Expence. From this Time they gain'd Ground of me, but I have the Glory and Satisfaction to find, that the only Reaſon of it was, that they found me inviolably attach'd to the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and inſeparably engag'd to that of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*.

HERE I deſire your L—s, to conſider the Streights I was in; the diſplac'd Party treated me very ill, as combin'd with the Pretender; and this Court-Faction was at the ſame Time undermining me, becauſe I was heartily at work for, and engag'd in the Intereſt of the Elector of *Hanover*.

'TWAS now high Time for me to be in earneſt to my ſelf; my own Preſervation, a Thing I had not always liſtned much to, call'd upon me to draw out from a Party who were reſolute to precipitate themſelves, and the public Affairs, into inexicrable Labyrinths. Nor was this all, but as the Succeſs of all their Deſigns, was to be their own Advantage, ſo was the Miſcarriage to be all at my Expence; for I being ſuppos'd to be at the Head of all Affairs, the Odium of every falſe Step was ſure to be laid there; the popular Hatred was ſure to center there; and I was like to be charg'd with the very Miſtakes which I had openly and avowedly oppos'd. Nor was this come to a contemptible Height, for as the Conduct of theſe Men gave daily Uneaſineſs to the People, and the Charge of the Miniſtry being in the Intereſt of the Pretender, very popular, it was not without Ground, that I was in Danger of being ſacrific'd to the Popularity, if any Attempt in Favour of the *Pretender* had really been made. For who can anſwer for the Rage of a Rabble, in the Heat of a Tumult, when they have any High Man pointed out to them as the Cauſe of all their Grievances? It is true, I carry'd it with a ſteady, unconcern'd Compoſure, all this While; but I could not be inſenſible of what the Folly of theſe Men tended to, and that the Reſentment due to their Conduct, was pointed at me.

WHILE

While this was the Caſe, the Faction (for theſe, above all the ſeveral Diviſions, ſeem beſt to deſerve that Name) went on to undermine and ſupplant me with my Royal Miſtreſs, repreſenting me as acting with ſuch a Reſerve in all the *Public Adminiſtrations*, that not the Queen Herſelf, much leſs the reſt of the *Miniſtry*, were acquainted with any Thing 'till they ſaw it done, even not the *Privy-Council* it ſelf, but only for Form ſake; and rather to approve and ſet their Hands to what was already done, than adviſe what was proper to do. That I govern'd all things with ſuch an abſolute Authority, and carry'd it in ſo ſuperior a Manner, that it was become inſupportable to the reſt of the *Miniſtry*, who were only us'd as copying Clerks to my Negociations, and treated like Servants, not Miniſters, who were entruſted by the Sovereign with the ſame Adminiſtration. The Sum of all this was, that as the Succeſs of all my Management was owing to my being Maſter of my own Meaſures, and I ſaw great Reaſon not to put my Schemes into ſome Hands, who were mighty impatient to be truſted, ſince they regarded leſs the public Good, than the gratifying the Vanity of being employ'd; for which Reaſon, they both took Offence there, where they ought, had they been in the ſame Poſt, to have acted in the ſame manner.

How it came to paſs that theſe Inſinuations prevail'd ſo far with my Royal Miſtreſs, or that I began to be made uneaſy there, when all the World believ'd my Intereſt ſo firm, as not to be ſhaken with any Arts, or Contrivances whatſoever. What Treachery of Inſtruments this was brought about by ——, I ſhall in Regard of the ſudden Loſs of Her Majeſty, let remain in Silence.

It matter'd not how far Honour and Gratitude oblig'd them to have acted upon other Principles, when once their ſecret Intelligence inform'd 'em, that by this Means they had a fair View of bringing their Deſigns to paſs, they ſoon broke through *th ſe little*

Things

Things call'd *Obligations*, forgetting who rais'd them, and by whoſe Conduct they had been ſupported, againſt all the Attempts of a *Party*, which, had they ſtood alone, would have cruſh'd them into Atoms of Diſgrace and Contempt, even with one of their Fingers.

BUT the Hopes of getting the prime Adminiſtration into their Hands, and their eager Deſires of having an Opportunity, by that Means, to put in Execution thoſe wicked Deſigns, which had been long ſeated in their Imaginations, which they found, by many Demonſtrations, I would never give way to, prevail'd with them to trample under, Foot the Honour and Duty of Servants to the Queen, and the Principals of Reſpect and Gratitude to that *Superior Genius* which had formerly ſerv'd and oblieg'd them in the higheſt Degree; and what was worſe, to quit all that Regard, which, as Miniſters of State, they ow'd to the *public good*, and the Peace of their Country, which they well enough knew was enter'd in that one capital Article of the *Conſtitution*, viz. the *Proteſtant Succeſſion.*

IT can never be ſufficiently lamented, how far the Honour, Dignity, and Reputatiou of the Queen, became a Sacrifice in the Hands of theſe Men: how far they abandon'd the Regard, which in Duty they ow'd to their Soveriegn's *Veracity*; how far they expos'd the Sincerity which every one that knew intimately the Queen's Conduct, knew Her Majeſty acted with in every Thing She did. How they expos'd it, I ſay, to common Cenſure; and how the Enemies of the Government took Occaſion, from their Conduct, to ſuggeſt, that Her Majeſty was enter'd with them into Meaſures injurious to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; at leaſt it was concluded, that if the Queen was not really in the Deſign of theſe Men, and was not conſenting to Meaſures fatal to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, it was not their Faults, nor, for Want of frequent Attempts on their Side, to bring it to paſs:

And tho' they were not yet arriv'd to that Height, as to own their Deſign to Her Majeſty, yet, a Genius of very little Penetration, might ſee, they were not ſo remote from it as they pretended to be. But Things were not yet ripe for Execution, and therefore they would not declare themſelves on the main Point, till ſome Obſtacles were remov'd. The firſt and moſt dangerous of theſe, was my ſelf, whom when they found inflexible, and not to be brought over, but, on the contrary making advances in the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*; and that if I went on, I ſhould not only fortify the Inclinations of the Queen againſt their Attempts, but do ſome puplic Thing that would render the Succeſſion impregnable, paſt the Power of their Party to ſhake it, and out of Danger of being rejected, whether the Queen ſhould live or die; ſo that now all their Endeavours were diſpos'd to turn me out of Power, and if poſſible, out of Her Majeſty's Favour likewiſe. In Duty to Her Majeſty, and my Country, I laid all this Project before Her, tho' I found not the like Succeſs as I us'd to have with Her Majeſty, in Things not ſo nearly relating to my ſelf. yet was I wholly unconcern'd at that Event, but perform'd this Part as a Duty to the Queen, and a Diſcharge of that great Truſt which had formerly been repos'd in me; and ſeeing what Concern, what Impreſſion had been made onother way, I contented my ſelf with having diſcharged that Duty; contemning all that which Politicians call *Self-Preſervation*; and entirely neglected that Party who were my inveterate Enemies, becauſe I left them, and ſacrific'd my Safety and Intereſt, merely becauſe I would not come into Meaſures ruinous to my Country, and to the Intereſt of my Sovereign.

STATESMEN moſt certainly ought to think it their indiſpenſable Duty always to regard the Intereſt and Safety of their Country; to make it ſuperior in all their Aims, to the moſt advantagious Proſpects,

in

in the greateſt of their Deſigns; and, in Caſes of Neceſſity, to ſacrifice their Ambition, and even their lawful Hopes, to the public Good.

But I fear I have tir'd your Patience; I therefore ſubmit to your great Wiſdom what I have ſaid; and hope the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and my Suffering, even for the Common-Good, nay, and for the *Whigs* themſelves, will gain a favourable Cenſure.

SPEECH III.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

THE hearing the L— who ſpoke laſt, out, without Interruption, nay, the not ſtopping him, after the very Beginning of his *Sarcaſtic Defence*, is an undeniable Proof of your ſingular Humanity and Eaſineſs of Temper; for, my L—, he has laid the whole Streſs of his Defence upon a very groſs Abuſe of your L——. I am not, I confeſs, much ſurpris'd at this uncommon Conduct of that Noble L—; for his has indeed been always very ſingular, and out of the Way; and as the Principles he moves by, are peculiar to himſelf, ſo are the Meaſures he takes to compaſs his Deſigns, what no Man living, but himſelf, could ever have thought of. Thus, as the Nature of his Guilt is of the moſt uncommon Size, ſo is his Defence the moſt extraordinary that ever was heard. He would inſinuate into your Favour, by perſwading you that you all are as abandon'd as himſelf, both in good Senſe and Probity. Is there any Man among you, (he demands) whoſe real Aim is not Power, Wealth, and Dignity? Is there any Man among you, (he goes on) who makes the *Public Good*, the Safety, Honour, and

Glory of his Country, and his Prince, the Standard of his Actions, and the Meaſure of his Conduct? Is there any Man among you, who does not, in all he does, firſt conſider how to eſtabliſh his own Power, his own Family, his own Honours? And next (or, perhaps, not at all) ſtrive to make theſe join in with the real, or at leaſt the apparent Good of his Country? If the Public Good happen to be improv'd by your *Adminiſtration*, that is only owing to a lucky Chance, to a fortunate Conjuncture of Affairs; and not to your Merit, your real and diſintereſted Zeal, your *Roman* Love for your Country, or the very Prince that made you.

How deſperate, my L——, muſt this Criminal be, when he can find no other plauſible Reſource from his Guilt, but by endeavouring to perſwade his very Judges, that they are as guilty as himſelf? He does indeed own, that he has betray'd his Country, and his Prince; that he has ſacrific'd the Public Good, the Laws and Liberties of *Britain*, nay, of all *Europe*, to that momentary Grandeur, which his Art of Wheedling had gain'd him over a Princeſs, who being innocent of ſuch Thoughts herſelf, could not eaſily imagine thoſe whom ſhe had an Inclination to favour, could be guilty of.

But, to be as favourable to that Noble L—— as poſſible, I will imagine, that Want of Senſe, and not any real Deſign to affront you, has made him commit ſuch an Abſurdity as the calling you all Knaves and Traytors. He had heard that *Self-Love*, and *Self-Preſervation*, were implanted in all Mankind, and therefore extending this Maxim beyond it's natural Limits, concluded that every one was influenc'd by them, to do any Thing for the Preſervation of his Power, and the Increaſe of his Wealth, without Regard to *Right* or *Wrong*: He had heard, that *ſi violandum eſt Jus regnandi cauſa, violandum eſt, cæteris rebus pietatem cole.* That the beſt Excuſe for the departing from the Precepts of Right and Juſtice, is to obtain Dominion,

and

and that Piety and Juſtice ſhould be obſerv'd in all our other Actions.

As to the Firſt, I ſhall eaſily acknowledge that *Self-Love* is a Principle in Nature, ſpread through all Mankind; but then I muſt add, that this *Self-Love*, well or ill underſtood, is the Source of all the Virtues and Vices of Mankind. Now, my L—, the *Self-Love* that has directed the Actions of this Noble L—, is that which is ill underſtood, and therefore induc'd all thoſe Crimes, for which it will be moſt juſtly call'd to an Account by this Right Honourable Houſe. *Self-Love*, rightly underſtood, will tell us, that we ſhould never depart from the Meaſures and Conditions of *Self-Preſervation*, which every Man does, who forſakes the Laws of *Right* and *Wrong*, who leſſens the Safety and Honour of his Country, who weakens the Force of the Laws; for all theſe weaken the Security of Particulars, and are therefore Sins againſt this Maxim of *Self-Love*, which preſerves the World in Motion, which only can be maintain'd by keeping up, and ſtrength'ning *Self-Preſervation*. For, how can the Power, the Wealth, the Dignity of any Particular, give a rational Satisfaction, when they are left expos'd to the Will of a Foreign Potentate, or the Reſentment of thoſe Laws, which are the very Pledges of our enjoying them, even a Month?

Here, my L—, is the apparent Difference between that *Self-Love*, which was the Guide of the Actions of the *Whig-Miniſtry*, and that of the *Tory*; I mean that of the late pacific Gentlemen, who at once gave up the Power and Security of *Europe*, purchas'd with the Blood of ſo many brave Soldiers, with a vaſt Expence of Treaſure, and by ſuch wiſe Councils, as will give that Miniſtry Place in the Front of the Heroes of our Times, when Poſterity ſhall be an impartial Judge of their Conduct.

But, my L—, I wiſh this Noble L— would have done ſo much Juſtice, as to have ſhewn the leaſt Particle of that *Self-Love*, which directed his Actions in

thoſe

thoſe of the *Whig-Miniſtry*. Did not every Thing proſper which they undertook? Had we not Victories abroad as duly as we enter'd the Field? Were not our Councils the Meaſure of the Actions, and Conduct of all our Allies? Were we not admir'd and lov'd by all the Nations of the Earth, nay, and fear'd too? Could not they have made Peace as well as this Noble L—? Could not they have purſu'd the very ſame Meaſures? No, my L—, they could not, for they were too wiſe, were Maſters of too much Penetration, not to ſee how fading that Power was, which was built on the Deſtruction of *Europe*, and the aggrandizing a Monarch, who had no other View than an univerſal Monarchy; who could give no other Security to the Tools of his Deſigns, but his bare Word and Promiſe, to which he never yet was found a Slave.

THIS, my L—, might be a ſufficient Anſwer to his Obloquy, did he not endeavour at laſt to prove this Aſſertion by an *Inſtance*, which yet we ſhall find incapable of producing what he aims at. I muſt indeed do him ſo much Juſtice, as to allow that he has pick'd out the only queſtionable Occurrence, that above twenty Years Adminiſtration can afford. My L—, I muſt, with that noble L—, allow, that there could be no greater *Security* to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, than the Preſence of the immediate Heir of the *Proteſtant Line* in theſe Kingdoms, and I was my ſelf for it at that Time. But, my L—, there were ſuch ſtrange Appearances, ſuch unuſual *Phænomena* on this Occaſion, as would far more ſurprize any one, than the great Eclipſe that happen'd on the twenty ſecond of *April* laſt; for that was but the juſt Effect of the natural Courſe of Things, but theſe were directly contrary to the very Nature of the contending Patties. There were *Tories* clamorous for the *Security*, that is, for that manner of the Security of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and *Whigs* as warmly proceeding againſt it. Not, my L—, that the *Whigs* were unwilling to confirm the *Safety* of that Succeſſion by any thing, and by all Ways; and

that

that indeed by a Principle of *Self-Love* and *Self Preſervation*, incapable of any tolerable Way of ſecuring themſelves without it; but the Gifts of an Enemy juſtly adminiſter Cauſe of Suſpicion; and it is plain, that they meant nothing leſs, for when they were in Power, they were ſo far from doing themſelves what the *Whigs* refus'd to do, that when the Succeſſion was in appearent Danger, they deny'd the Duke of *Cambridge*, the preſent Prince of *WALES*, the Benefit of his Write, which every other Peer enjoy'd, and he had an undoubted Right to.

THIS Cry was ſet up, without any Deſign that it ſhould prevail at that Time, but only to throw an Odium on the *Whigs*, if they refus'd to enter into it, or to get the Reputation of being for the *Succeſſion*, and ſo deluded the People that confided in them, to the ſole Prejudice of the illuſtrious Houſe of *HANOVER*.

Cicero tells us, That the firſt *Romans* made no Law againſt Parricides, becauſe they thought it was impoſſible that ſuch a Wickedneſs could enter into the Head of any Man, to kill his own Father. If this were ſufficient Juſtification of the Omiſſion of thoſe old *Roman* Legiſlators, in imagining, that the Corruptneſs of Particulars could never reach to the committing ſuch a Crime; how much more are the *Whig-Miniſtry* at that Time to be juſtify'd, in not taking uncommon Meaſures, and uneaſy at that Time, to the reigning Prince, ſince they could never imagine, that, let the particular Wretchedneſs, and vicious Principles of one or two, be never ſo great, they could never ſuppoſe I ſay, that there could ariſe a whole Set of Men, who would be ſo wicked, nay, ſo very fooliſh, as to part with their own Security, and to ſacrifice it intirely, by excluding the *Proteſtant Heirs*, and calling in one of dubious Birth, attainted and bred in the Height of Popery and arbitrary Principles. But when Experience had convinc'd them, that there was nothing ſo abſurd, or ſo villainous, which ſome Mens Policy could not eſpouſe and purſue, they exerted themſelves

to

to get that Heir by legal Meaſures among us, whom they then wiſh'd had been here, and even on that *Tory* Project, my L—, that they were not negligent of making the Succeſſion as firm as Laws could make it, and eſtabliſh that very Method, by which our Gracious SOVEREIGN, God be thanked, gain'd the Poſſeſſion of the Crown.

IF there were any Perſon, whoſe Intentions were honeſt and well-meaning, for the true and ſincere Service of the Royal Family, as I believe there might be, I ſhall always be ready to give my Word for his Reward; and I do not believe, that any true Friend of His Majeſty could be againſt it; for how can he who is a Friend to the King, be an Enemy to him who was always faithful to his Cauſe?

THUS triumphant, as he imagines, this noble Lord goes on, and takes it for granted, that he has prov'd, that you all have only Regard for your own temporary Power and Grandeur, and ſo proceeds to his Defence. He has indeed, in Print, told the World the ſame Matter, if not in direct Terms, yet as it may plainly and fairly be deduc'd from what he ſays.

HIS Speech from this Place, ſeems compos'd in Juſtification of himſelf firſt, and then in Accuſation. of his Fellow-Labourers in our Deſtruction I ſhall take Notice of both, in what I have to ſay to him. But, my L——, I muſt tell you, that the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon you, to ſee what you will do with a Set of Men, who were ſo near undoing us, nay, I may ſay, have to their Power undone both our ſelves and them. All *Europe*, my L——, are expecting what you will do with theſe Managers, who broke the *Grand Alliance*, by ſending *P——r* and *M——r* to *France*, to beg a Peace in the moſt clandeſtine Manner; who receiv'd a Miniſter from thence without communicating a Word of it to the *Allies*, 'till the ſhameful Conditions of a Treaty were agreed on: Who diſſolv'd the *Confederacy*; who drew

off

off with the *Britiſh Forces* and Auxiliaries from the Confederate Army, and expos'd them to the Rout and Slaughter at *Denain*; who bully'd the *Dutch* to what they knew, and declar'd to be againſt their *Intereſt*, and even *Security*; who abandon'd the Emperor, and left the *Catalans* to be butcher'd by the *French* and *Caſtilians*, notwithſtanding their Neutrality; who gave up our Trade to *France* and *Spain*; who obtain'd Victories by Tumults, Violence, and the moſt notorious Bribery; who made Peers by Dozens; who procur'd at one Time, 500000 *l.* to be given them juſt before the *Diſſolution of a Parliament*, under Pretence of paying the Crown-Debts, but diſtributing the Money among themſelves and their Creatures, gave the Creditors of the Crown, only *Tin-Tallies* at 30 *per Cent.* Diſcount; who inſulted all the Lovers of their Country, and the Enemies of *France*, in both Houſes of Parliament; who gave Seats in the Houſe of Peers, to *Scots* L——, known to be in the Pretender's Intereſt; and, at the public Expence, got others in the ſame Intereſt, Votes in the *Houſe of Commons*: Who affronted the Miniſter of *Hanover*, for preſenting His Majeſty's excellent Memorial, that foretold all their wicked Deſigns againſt our future Happineſs; who refus'd to admit his Highneſs the Duke of *Cambridge*, to his Seat in Parliament, and ſent away another of the Miniſters of *Hanover*, for demanding his Writ: Who modell'd the Army, putting out Officers of known Zeal to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and putting in others of as known Hatred to it; who promoted *Sacheverell*, a condemn'd Incendiary to one of the moſt beneficial and populous Pariſhes in *England*; who put Men of no Fortunes into Commiſſions of the Peace and Lieutenancy.

What you will do with theſe Men, my L——, is the Subject of the Expectation of all this Nation, and the reſt of *Europe*; and I am confident, that there is not one good *Briton*, but will rejoyce to ſee the Ri-

gour of the Law exert it ſelf, and Juſtice done to an injur'd Nation and *Confederacy*.

THE Criminal, with a great deal of Calmneſs, paſſes over the Peace, as if a Thing of no manner of Complaint; he tells us of his Advancement and how he diſpos'd of Affairs afterwards: but ſhould he not have been ſo juſt to himſelf at leaſt, as to have repreſented in what a happy Condition our Affairs were, when he began to embroil them by his Cabals and mean Arts? Should he not have told us, that the War, as now carrying on abroad, for the Security of our *Religion* and *Liberties*, was drawing to a *glorious Iſſue?* That the *exorbitant Power of France* might have been ſo reduc'd in one Campaign more, (nay, at the very Expence of that Campaign, in which the only Uſe he made of our Army, was, to betray the Confederates) that *Lewis* XIV. would not have thought himſelf ſafe in that Pal[illegible]ce where he now ſhuffles with, and inſults us? Shou[illegible]he not have ſaid, that the Credit of the Nation w[illegible]s then in a much more flouriſhing Condition, than it was been ſince the Peace? That our Reputation abroad, was rais'd aſmuch above all other Nations, as it has ſunk below them ſince he had any thing to do with us? That we had a perfect good Underſtanding with our Allies, were truſted by them, and could truſt one another; and that all at once, by his helliſh Machinations, we fell from this State of *Glory* and *Envy*, to one of *Infamy* and *Contempt*?

ONE would have hop'd my L——, if not expected, to have had a Word or two in Juſtification of the Peace; but that is ſunk as a Trifle not worth mentioning, tho' our Trade and Safety were ſinking with it. What he ſays of the *Twelve Lords* made at once by him, to ſecure himſelf, I leave to thoſe noble Peers to anſwer for themſelves, and their Poſterity. The firſt Thing he endeavours to make an Excuſe for abroad, is, for abondoning the *Catalans*. In Anſwer to which, he is pleas'd to tell us, *that the moſt preſſing Inſtances were made for them.* But when were they made?

made? Why truly, when we had done fighting for them; when we had left the Confederates, turn'd the Balance to the Side of *France*; and the Managers knew full well, that *Philip* and *Lewis* look'd on all their Inſtances on that Head, as mere *Grimace* and *ſhew*, they having put it out of their Power to make them effectual; and, it is more than probable, had given up themſelves to *France*, ſo entirely in the firſt Steps of their Treaty, that ſhe knew that it was in her Power to ruin them, if they would not ſuffer her to ruin the poor *Catalans*, and all the reſt of the Confederates, of which our own Deſtruction muſt be the ſure and ſpeedy Conſequence.

My L—, caſt your Eyes upon the Letters from the *Government* and *Military Arm* of *Catalonia*, upon the Submiſſion of that Province to the Confederate Powers; and then ſee whether they expected nothing from us, but the Privileges they enjoy'd under *Charles* II. nay, my L—, what Motive could they have of joyning *Charles* III. and the *Britiſh* Troops, and enter into a very hazardous War for, and with him, if they expected no more than they enjoy'd under *Philip* V. without any War, or any Hazard at all? The *French*, whenever they join'd them, took always Care that they ſhould at leaſt enjoy a greater Shew of Liberty, than they found under the *Spaniard*. Whatever was the Motive of *France*, yet it is certain they never once deſerted them, never once gave them up to the Fury and Reſentment of their inveterate Enemies, the *Caſtilians*, as our noble Managers did; never treated with *Spain*, without not only inſiſting on, but obliging the *Spaniards* to leave the *Catalans* better than the *French* found them. Did the poor *Catalans*, who threw themſelves ſo unanimouſly, and ſo generouſly into the Arms of the *Engliſh*, a Nation affecting an equal Love of *Liberty* with themſelves, expect to get nothing by it, but what the *Caſtilians* did then let them precariouſly poſſeſs? Did they venture every Thing that was dear to them, only to have *Charles* III's Name put in

the Place of *Charles* II? Ridiculous Abſurdity! as much againſt Reaſon, as againſt Truth.

ALL that he is pleas'd to offer for his deſerting the *Catalans*, now bury'd in the Ruins of *Barcelona*, once the fineſt City of *Spain*, is, that we left them in the Emperor's Hands, whoſe Subjects they choſe to be. What a vile Inſinuation is this? As if they ſought us, and not we them; as if we had not ſent an Army to ſupport them in that Choice, and a Declaration to unite them to it, as full of the moſt flattering Advantages that their Revolt would procure them, and of Aſſurances of Aſſiſtance, with Threats to invade them, and lay their Country waſte, if they did not joyn us. But *we left them in the Emperor's Hands*; true, but in whoſe Hands did we leave the Emperor? In thoſe of *France*, who invaded him with an Army of 100000 Men; himſelf we abandon'd, as well as the *Catalans*. He ſhould *have taken more Care of them*, ſays the noble L—, tho' he had neither Ships nor Men to ſend to their Aſſiſtance, and our Ships refus'd all manner of Help. He (that is, the Emperor) could not be ſaid *not to be as able to defend them, as they have been to defend themſelves*. Was it not ſufficient for him to give up ſo many Thouſands of brave Men to be maſſacred, and that beauteous and wealthy City to be laid in Aſhes, but he muſt inſult their Miſery, by ſuch Suppoſitions as he knows to be entirely without Ground? But, my L—, I hope you will not let the Blood of theſe Defenders of *Liberty* be calling in vain for Revenge.

THIS noble L— has, in his Speech, and likewiſe in Print, been ſo free as to tell us, that he join'd with the *Jacobites*, advanc'd and employ'd them; but would have us believe, that by this Means, he only betray'd them, and ſecur'd the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. But the Steps of his Politics were very extraordinary: One would imagine it but an odd Way of ſecuring a Government, to admit the very profeſs'd Enemies of it, into a Share, not of the Adminiſtration only, but of the Legiſlature; for there is hardly one of the ſixteen

of

of that Time, but is mention'd in the *Scots Memoirs*, as a Friend to the *Pretender*; and many of them the moſt active and buſy in his intended Invaſion. By this Means, his L—, made Shift, by *Dozens* and *Sixteens*, to jumble up a *Majority*, which carri'd every Thing his L——, had a Mind ſhould paſs for the Advantage of himſelf or Counſels. But what appears farther than his L— would willingly have it, is, That theſe *Jacobites* were ſo far from being baffled in their Deſigns, by being admitted into the Adminiſtration, that they had Power and Intereſt to turn his L— out of all Power and Intereſt; and what elſe they might have done, had their Adminiſtration continu'd, I think is pretty obvious to all Men of common Senſe. But whether his concerting Meaſures with the Leaders of the *Jacobite Party* for four Years together, and doing ſo many Things daily, as ſo weaken'd the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, as to bring it into the utmoſt Peril, will be aton'd for, by declaring his Zeal for it, when he had no Power to ſerve it, I leave to your L—. It is plain, that all his Adminiſtration, it was attack'd in Print, with the higheſt Impunity; nay, that this Zealot for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, got a Pardon for a Traitor, who had written the moſt dangerous Pamphlet againſt His Majeſty's Family, that was publiſh'd in thoſe diſmal Times. But theſe are Actions which give us little Reaſon to imagine he had any better Deſigns, than he has charg'd his Fellow Managers with.

As for all that Part of his Speech, in which he has play'd the Accuſer, I ſhall only obſerve two Things, Firſt, That he plainly makes it out, that he was himſelf the chief, if not only the Spring of Motion in the Miniſtry; and that all the reſt had to do, was only to ſign his Orders, and approve his Conduct; ſo that if any Thing be done amiſs, any Thing criminal, in my Opinion, he chiefly, if not ſolely, ought to anſwer, and ſuffer for it. The other Thing I ſhall obſerve, is, That tho' he had ſo far forgot the Duty of a Stateſman,

man, as to allow no Motive to his Actions, but his Aims at Power, Wealth, and Dignity, without Regard to Juſtice, the Public Good, or the like: Yet, when the Warmth of his Reſentment againſt thoſe who had thrown him into the Number of the Diſplaced, had carried him from his Ambition to his Revenge, he could tell us, — *That a Stateſman moſt certainly ought to think it his indiſpenſible Duty, always to regard the Intereſt and Safety of his Country, to make it ſuperior in their Aims, to the moſt advantageous Proſpects, and the greateſt of their Deſigns; and, in* Caſes of Neceſſity, *to ſacrifice their Ambition, and even lawful Hopes, to the Public Good.*

Out of thy Mouth will I condemn thee, thou wicked Steward. — Yet, my L—, by the Concluſion of his Speech, he is ſelf-condemn'd; and I hope therefore, that your L— will with me agree, that he ought, at leaſt by an Impeachment, to be oblig'd to render a more ſolemn Account of his Actions, and undergo what is due to his Deſert or Demerit.

SPEECH IV.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

I SHALL, my L—, in what I have to offer to your L——, take no farther Notice of what my L— of *O*— has ſaid in his Speech, ſince, I think, that is ſufficiently anſwer'd by the Noble L— who ſpoke laſt. I ſhall only lay before you the State of Affairs, as they were during that Miniſtry, juſtly now held in Deteſtation by all *Europe*, except the common Enemy of *Europe*.

Firſt then, The *late Miniſtry*, who were then coming into Play, got the Parliament of Patriots diſſolv'd: The next Step they take, is to employ abandon'd Miſcreants, to traduce and vilifie the former *Miniſtry*, as well as all thoſe who were for the glorious REVOLUTION, King *William*, and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and conſequently againſt the *Pretender*; and to banter our ſeaſonable Apprehenſions of the *Pretender*, as well as to write for his Succeſſion. They next rais'd all the *Mobs* of *Jacobites*, *Non-Jurors*, and *Papiſts*, that burnt the Meeting-houſes of the Diſſenters, to the great Hazard of once again firing the City of *London*. Next, by their riotous and tumultuous Elections, they bought the next *Houſe of Commons*, and arraign the foregoing *Miniſtry*, by voting *Miſmanagements* at Home and Abroad, which, had they been true, deſerv'd not only *Impeachments*, but ATTAINDERS. But how *villainous* was it to expoſe that Miniſtry to the Hatred of the *Public*, by Votes and Reſolutions of the *Commons* of *Great Britain*, without bringing them to their Trial, that they might have clear'd themſelves if innocent, or be brought to condign Puniſhment, if guilty? How *villainous* is it indeed to vote any Miſmanagement, and not impeach the Criminals? For this is to encourage Male-Adminiſtration, and to diſcourage all faithful Dealings in public Affairs, making the firſt ſecure, and the latter the contrary.

IN the next Place, Our Embaſſador in *Spain* offer'd the *Spaniſh* Court, on the Part of Her Majeſty, what Number of our Men of War that Court had a Mind to, and ſuch as they ſhould chooſe, and at moderate Rates; and diſcharging our Sea-men, give them Leave to liſt in the *French* Service. Again, the *late Miniſtry* made Her late Majeſty break all Her Alliances againſt *France*, and clap up a ſeparate Peace with *France*, notwithſtanding the late *Treaſurer* aſſur'd the Houſe of Lords, in a ſolemn Debate, that there was no ſeparate Peace, and that the ſame would be *fooliſh*, *knaviſh*, and *villainous*. This very *Miniſtry* made Her Majeſty deſert

ſert the Emperor, whom, by the ſtricteſt Alliances and repeated Declarations, ſhe was bound to aſſiſt. Thus they made Her give up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to *France*, in Violation of the moſt *ſolemn Leagues*, in Contradiction to Her repeated Declarations, that no Peace could be ſafe and laſting, while *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* remain'd in the Houſe of *Bourbon*. The late *Miniſtry* enter'd into ſeparate Meaſures with *France*, in direct Violation of our Alliances; ſcandalize, vilifie, and traduce all our Allies; ſend to, and receive daily Couriers from the *French Court*; make few or no Preparations for War, either by Sea or Land, and act in ſuch a Manner as declar'd they would have a Peace *right* or *wrong*, as was made appear; and yet they aſſur'd the *Allies*, that they would not ſeparate from them, but would act vigorouſly that Campaign againſt *France*. Thus indeed they behav'd themſelves, that the *Allies* could not but think a ſeparate Peace would be ſtruck up; yet they aſſur'd them that they would act offenſively againſt *France*. But having a Mind to fall out with the *Dutch*, they ſtarted Difficulties about the *Barrier-Treaty*, and particularly about the *Aſſiento*; but tho' the States had given their Plenipotentiaries ſuch Inſtructions as would have adjuſted that Matter to mutual Satisfaction, yet, to prevent the agreeing of theſe Difficulties, my Lord *Strafford* went away without finiſhing the Affair; then the Duke of *Ormond* refus'd to fight the *French*, by Reaſon of the Orders ſent him by the late *Miniſtry*; and afterwards they declare to the *Dutch*, that *her Majeſty look'd on herſelf to be diſcharg'd from all Obligations with them.* Again, on the Deſcent in *Spain* 1710, the *Houſe of Commons* addreſs'd her Majeſty to ſend and procure new Troops to repair this Loſs; yet no Forces were ſent from hence, nor Foreigners hir'd to that End.

ONE Thing I muſt obſerve to you, my L——, becauſe it juſt now occurs to my Memory: We had no ſooner the News of the Duke of *Marlborrough*'s paſſing the *French* Lines, but we were ſurpris'd with publick

blick Accounts, that Mr. *Prior* had been in *France*, and was return'd with a Paſs, and that the *French* were in Hopes of a Peace. As Mr. *Prior*'s Journey to *France* was not communicated to our Allies, as by our Treaty it ought to have been; ſo neither were the Preliminaries brought over by Mr. *Meſnager*, 'till Her Majeſty had firſt ſign'd them: Nay, this very *French* Miniſter was kindly receiv'd at our Court, at the ſame Time that Count *Gallas* was forbid it.

It was ſaid by the Lord who ſpoke laſt but one, That he left the *Catalans* in the Hands of the Emperor; but he did not tell you, that Admiral *Jennings* not only refus'd to tranſport the Imperial Commander from *Italy* into *Catalonia*, but took a-Board all the *Engliſh* that were in that Province, to carry them to *Port Mahon*. When we had treacherouſly agreed to a Suſpenſion of Arms, one of our Plenipo's for the Peace, went *incognito* to Marſhal *Villars*'s Army, which was follow'd by the *Engliſh*, making themſelves Maſters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, thereby ſecuring the Command of the *Lys* and the *Schelde*; which ſo frighten'd the Army of the Allies, that it put a Stop to their Progreſs.

We may, indeed, obſerve, that the late Miniſtry dealt very openly in what they did, and ſhew'd that they were under no manner of Apprehenſions of any Cenſure of their Actions, private or public, for they did it without Diſguiſe. Thus they had Mr. *Ridge* expell'd the Houſe, for his Contract with the Fleet, and the Minute after, agreed with him on more beneficial Terms to himſelf, and leſs to the Public, to furniſh the Navy with Beer. At the ſame Time that they accus'd the foregoing *Miniſtry* of exceeding the Parliamentary Funds in the Time of War, they themſelves exceeded the Parliamentary Proviſions, the two next Campaigns, 600,000 *l.* the firſt Campaign, and 700,000 *l.* the next, tho' the Parliament had made the ſame Proviſions theſe two Years, as in any other Year of the War. The Expence of the Year 1712, ex-

ceeded the Parliamentary Proviſions above half a Million. The Expedition to *Quebeck* was an Exceeding of Parliamentary Proviſions; and tho' Accounts of all this were laid before the Houſe of Commons, yet was there no Notice taken of it. The Houſe of Commons complain'd of ſupplying Proviſions to Land-Forces on Board, without deducting from the Pay of thoſe Forces, nor any Thing aſſign'd to the Victualling; yet the very ſame Thing was done for the Regiments that were ſent to *Spain*, at the latter End of 1710, and in the Expedition to *Quebeck*; and tho' theſe Forces were under Conſideration, and going on at the very ſame Time that that Parliament were cenſuring the foregoing Miniſtry for the very ſame Miſmanagement.

THE great Revenues of the Duke of *Marlborough* were exclaim'd againſt, to render him odious; but the Duke of *Ormond*, upon his being made General, had immediatly 5000 *l.* paid him for his Equipage, which the Duke of *Marlborough* never had, or ask'd for; had Allowance of 600 *l. per Menſem* for his Table, which the Duke of *Marlborough* never had or ask'd; theſe were paid out of the two and half *per Cent.* that the Houſe of Commons voted public Money, and to be employ'd to the public Service. Add to this 600 *l. per Menſem*, and add the 5000 *l.* for Equipage, and then ſee whether the two and half *per Cent.* will make it good to the Public; the Difference therefore is this, —— The Foreigners, by Treaty, gave it the Duke of *Marlborough*, for Contingencies and ſecret Services; the Parliament cenſur'd him for receiving it, and yet they then granted it themſelves, or, which is the ſame Thing, the Miniſtry for them, to the new General; for what? for *Contingencies* and *ſecret Services*? No, for his EQUIPAGE and TABLE. Ten thouſand Pounds granted for ſecret Services the Year before, is likewiſe iſſu'd to our new General, tho' it was obvious to every one, there could poſſibly be no manner of Uſe for it, the War being at an End, and a ſecret Peace made. Beſides this, our new General was Lord Lieu-

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tenant of *Ireland*, Colonel of the firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, of a Regiment of Horſe; General and Commander in chief at 20 *l. per Diem*; add all theſe Incomes, and ſee whether 40000 *l. per Ann.* will not come ſhort of it.

Again, by the late Peace, they have not only given up to *France* Part of the Iſland and Trade of *Newfound-land*, contrary to the 10 and 11 of W. 3. Cap. 25. *which gives the whole Trade of that Iſland to the* Engliſh, *and expreſly enacts, that no Alien or Stranger whatever, (not reſiding in the Kingdom of* England, *Dominion of* Wales, *or Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed) *ſhall* | *at any Time hereafter take any Bait, or uſe any Sort of Trade or Fiſhing whatever in* New-found-land, *or in any of the ſaid Iſlands, or Places above-mention'd*; but they have likewiſe given up the very beſt Part thereof.

THE *late Miniſtry* took Care to ſecure themſelves, as they thought, againſt after Reckonings, by ſecuring to themſelves, by Bribery in Elections, a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, which, with the Addition of the twelve Lords, and ſixteen *Scots* Dependents in the Pretender's Intereſt, they ſo far attain'd, that they got what Miſmanagements at Home and Abroad, voted as they had a Mind, ſo to make the Nation eager after a Peace on any Terms, and conſequently willing to give up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; for that was done in direct *Violation* of Treaties, Alliances, and many Speeches from the Throne, and Meſſages from the Queen to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Addreſſes of both Houſes, for ten Years together.

THEY accus'd the foregoing *Miniſtry*, for ſuffering our Allies to treat us with Inſolence and Contempt: Yet, upon our having agreed with *France* on the Terms of Peace, if the foreign Troops in our Pay, had ſeparated with the Duke of *Ormond* from Prince *Eugene*'s Army, the *French* had form'd a Deſign of encompaſſing the Duke's Troops, and thoſe of the *States*, and of diſarming the Foreigners in our Pay;

and *French* Proteſtants naturaliz'd, and others born in *England*, which with Her Majeſty's Paſs were clap'd up in the Baſtile, and with great Difficulty deliver'd, and order'd to get out of *France* in 24 Hours. What greater Affronts can be offer'd? What greater Contempt can be ſhewn by one Prince to another, than what *France* has, on this Occaſion, offer'd Her late Majeſty? Did the *Dutch*, or any of our late Allies treat Her with ſo much Scorn and Contempt.

THO', by the Terms of Peace, the *French* King was not only to acknowledge, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, in the Houſe of *Hanover*, to theſe Kingdoms; but alſo to give an additional Security, by the Removal of that Perſon out of the Dominions of *France*, who had pretended to diſturb this Settlement. *France*, indeed, remov'd him to *Bar-le-Duc* in *Lorain*; but how can that be call'd, out of his Dominions, when the Duke of *Lorain* is plainly, by his Anſwer to the Repreſentations of the Biſhop of *London*, no more than Lord Lieutenant of his own Country, under *France*? From this very Retreat, the *Pretender* had the Aſſurance, under the Name of *James* III, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, *&c.* to ſend out his ſolemn Proteſtation to *Utrecht*, againſt all that ſhould be done againſt his pretended Right. Farther, ſuppoſing that *Bar-le-Duc* were out of the Dominions of *France*; yet, ſuch a Removal would only be an evading the Terms of Peace, and no true Performance thereof, ſince it appears, he continues to adhere to his Intereſt as firmly as ever, by cauſing all the Couriers that paſs'd between *Verſailles* and *Raſtadt*, to take their Way through *Bar-le-Duc*; and ſince the Duke of *Berwick* frequently has gone between *Verſailles* and *Bar-le-Duc*, *&c.* is not this breaking through a principal Article of the Peace? What if I ſhould mention *Dunkirk* not yet demoliſh'd, tho' it were to have been done within five Months after the Conditions of Peace were concluded and ſign'd?

By the late Treaty of Commerce, between Her late Majeſty and the *French* King, it is agreed and concluded, that there ſhould be a reciprocal and entirely perfect Liberty of Navigation and Commerce between the Subjects of each Prince, thro' all and every the Kingdoms, States, Dominions, and Provinces of their Royal Majeſties in *Europe*, &c. But ſoon after, the *French* King, by a new Edict, prohibits all *French* Proteſtants that are trading into *France*. Is not this a direct Violation of the ſaid Treaty? So ſoon too? What then may we expect in a longer Time? Can any one Inſtance, like this Behaviour of the *French*, ever be found in that of the *Dutch*, or any of our late Allies?

The foregoing Miniſtry were accus'd of being miſled by viſionary Proſpects, and Romantic Views; and yet the late Miniſtry would impoſe on us, as a Reality, a firm Benefit, the *South-Sea Project*; by which we were to ſend Ships thither a Twenty Months Voyage, to trade with an Enemy, without Forts, or Means of maintaining them at this Diſtance, if we had them; whilſt the *French* have an open Trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. I ſhould be glad to know what Ships we have already ſent thither? How many more Hands have been employ'd at Home, in working up Manufactures to be exported thither, than before? What Commodities we have brought back to employ our Poor, in working up into Manufactures? What Increaſe of Shipping and Sea-men has been? But this Project, and giving up *Spain* to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, the late *Miniſtry* thought moſt proper to go together. Whereas, had the Emperor preſerv'd his Footing in *Spain*, and by the Peace have ſecur'd it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, we ſhould have had a free Trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, excluſive of the *French*. This was agreed to by the late Emperors, and Power ſent to put it in Execution, as ſoon as the Vice-Roy in new *Spain* had ſubmitted to old *Spain*, then in the Hands of our Allies.

It appears, therefore, my L——, by theſe plain Matters of Fact, and might be made yet more plain by other Inſtances, that no Nation was ever ſo long and ſo ſcandalouſly abus'd, by the Folly and Temerity, the Corruption and Ambition of its Domeſtick Enemies; or treated with ſo much Inſolence, Injuſtice, and Ingratitude, by its new foreign Friends.

SPEECH V.

Againſt the IMPEACHMENT.

I Doubt not, my L——, that it will be expected, that I, who had ſo conſiderable a Hand in theſe Affairs, and by Conſequence muſt have as conſiderable a Share in the Guilt or Glory of what was done, as any Man, ſhould ſay ſomething in my own Behalf: This is what Nature requires, whoſe firſt Maxim is *Self-Preſervation*; for, not to offer any Thing in my own Defence, is to make a tacit Confeſſion of the Guilt; whereas, I flatter my ſelf, that the Juſtice of ſo many *Britons*, ſo many wiſe and good Men, will weigh with mature Deliberation, not only the Facts, but their Natures, their Circumſtances, and Poſition, for much of their Innocence, or Guilt, depend on theſe Particulars, as far as I can collect, from what has been urg'd, both within Doors and without. The principal Thing that we were charg'd with in the late Miniſtry, is the making this Peace that we now enjoy, and that in the Manner of obtaining it, and in the Conditions on which it is built; the firſt as diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Name, the latter as deſtructive of the *Engliſh* Trade, Power, and Reputation.

Peace itſelf, my L——, I hope is no Crime; for ſure no Man is ſo abandon'd to private Gain, as

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to be content there ſhould always be War, provided he had a large Share in the Benefits of it. I cannot think human Nature ſo far corrupted and debas'd, as to take Delight in Slaughter and Deſtruction; nay, I would fain yet go farther, and think, that moſt Men would rather give up a little of their juſt Claim, to compoſe Differences; the violent Deciſion of which, would be very expenſive in Blood and Treaſure. Arbitrations in Law, have often prov'd more beneficial to that Side that gains leaſt by them, than the purſuing the Suit to the laſt Sentence in the Houſe of Lords.

If therefore, the Terror of a long, bloody, and expenſive War, had ſurpris'd us into a Deſire of putting an End to the Miſchief, even with ſome ſeeming Diſadvantage, which the Continuance of the War would have avoided; yet, I hope, my L——, that would be conſider'd with a Tenderneſs, which would cover any Peccadillo in the Management of a Treaty with a Perſon ſo expert, and ſo deſigning, as the *French* King is known to be. We were, I own, my L——, but freſh Politicians, to ſo old a Stager, who, for above ſixty Years had Manag'd the Affairs of *Europe* to his own Advantage, by the Force of his own Underſtanding.

Tho' I ſhould flatter my ſelf, my L——, with theſe Hopes from your Juſtice and Goodneſs, yet, if I am not extreamly miſtaken, we have yet a ſurer Defence by proving, firſt, that the Authority we walk'd by, was not only ſufficient to juſtify what we did, but was alſo unaccountable for the Orders and Commands it gave. And next, that we have done no more in making this Peace, than what is agreeable to Juſtice, Honour, and the Good of this Nation.

As to the firſt, I ſhall only ſay, that it is the undoubted Right of the Crown, to make War and Peace. —Which, if true, as I never heard it diſputed, what has any Body to do, to call us, or any other Miniſters of the Crown, to an Account, for putting the Orders of the Crown in Execution, in a Thing

Thing which is allow'd on all Hands to be the proper Subject of the Prerogative of the Crown? Nay, had it not been Sedition, or little leſs than Treaſon, for me to deny the Seals, when commanded by Her Majeſty, to put them to a Treaty, She by her *Miniſters*, had concluded? What, can the making of Peace, be the Prerogative of the Crown, and yet the Crown accountable for the making of Peace? Is not this a Contradiction? If the Crown be not accountable for a Thing, certainly the Miniſters of the Crown muſt be ſo too; for, without Miniſters, the Crown is not ſuppos'd to act; or can it indeed by it ſelf negotiate with a foreign Prince, but by Interview, or by the Mediation of Miniſters on both Sides.

If then it be thus plain, that we did nothing in the Name of the Crown, nor by its Authority, which was not its Right and its Due to uſe; I hope my L——, there can be nothing criminal laid to our Charge, in paying Obedience to our Sovereign Lady, in an Act which in itſelf is ſo far from being unlawful, that it is alow'd on all Hands, to be the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown.

But, my L——, I ſhall not ſo ſhelter our ſelves under the Prerogative of the Crown, as to throw up all other Defence. What we have done, we thought agreeable to the Intereſt of our Country, and then, how far it was agreeable to any Ally, was not worthy our Conſideration. It is certain, that every Nation has a peculiar Intereſt to purſue, which may interfere with the Intereſts of another Nation which with Circumſtances, and Conjunctures of Affairs, might *pro tempore* engage in an Alliance; but when the Advantage of this Alliance is reap'd but by one Part, I can ſee no Reaſon why the other ſhould not diſengage itſelf from Terms ſo injurious to its Profit.

I think the Parliamentary Sentiments made on that Affair, are a ſufficient Juſtification of what we have done; the Neglect and Deficiency of our Allies, were abundantly made out; and it was thence plain,

that,

that, at our own Expence, we conquer'd for the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*, with little or no Regard to any future Advantage to our ſelves. But the Ballance of Power is the ſpecious Pretence which our Enmies make uſe of at this Time to render this Peace odious to the People. I confeſs, that during the Life of the late Emperor *Joſeph*, I was againſt yielding the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; but by the Death of that Emperor, the Face of Affairs was very much chang'd in *Europe*, end principally in relation to the *Balance of Power*; for all the vaſt Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, being re-united with the Imperial Crown, in the Perſon of one Prince, would form in him a greater Power, than when they were divided into two Monarchies; and this Change happening in the Things themſelves, the ſame ought naturally to occaſion an Alteration in the Meaſures. Nor is there any Fear, I mean, any rational Fear, that the Intereſt of *France* and *Spain* will be united. The *French* King was then in the 74th Year of His Age, and could not therefore be ſuppos'd to live long; ſo that in all Appearance, the Crown will deſcend to a Minor, and the then governing Regent (not having the ſame Authority, or Forces, nor the ſame Revenues which the preſent King has) will have no farther Views, than to preſerve the Kingdom, and will not think it adviſeable to trouble the Repoſe of *Europe*. The King of *Spain* will purſue a new Scheme of Politics, and find himſelf under a Neceſſity of keeping in with h *Maritime Powers*, and will court their Frientdſhip, by reſtoring to them the Freedom of Trade.

THIS laſt Conſideration will remove any Diſadvantages, any Overſight of ours may have given us, as to either *France* or *Spain*. Thus, my L---, I hope I have fully clear'd the managing Part of the late Miniſtry, from thoſe Crimes laid ſo violently to their Charge; and ſhewn, that as they acted by undoubted Authority in the Concluſion of this Peace, ſo they had

as wiſe and honeſt Views in it, as human Prudence, inſpir'd by the Love of our Country, could afford.

SPEECH VI.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

THE Noble L— who ſpoke laſt, my L—, has given us the Sum of all that has been, or can indeed be urg'd by the late *Miniſtry*, in the Defence of what they have done. The chief Reſource is the Prerogative of the Crown to make War or Peace; the *undoubted* Prerogative they call it. I confeſs, I, who know not what they mean by the Word, may well be to ſeek in the Extent of it. I know this, that it is a Word that is never or very ſeldom us'd, but by thoſe who have endeavour'd to ſet up *Arbitrary Power*, and advance the King's Will above all the Laws. Thus in *James* II's Time, it was judg'd to be the Prerogative of the Crown to diſpenſe with, that is, in Reality to diſſolve Acts of Parliament. This I know, that our beſt Princes have never made any Uſe of the Word or Thing; and that nothing has been ſo clamour'd as Prerogative, when we have had Princes, whoſe Underſtanding expos'd them to be the Properties of their own Creatures, and deſigning Favourites. But as to *Peace* and War, either it is meant the Crown has an undoubted Right to make a *good Peace*, or a good or bad Peace, without Regard to the Merit and Juſtice of either Peace or War. If confin'd to the firſt, no Man would make one Word of it; if ſtretch'd to the laſt, then the Prince can diſpoſe of the Lives and Properties of his Subjects, as of Sheep and Cattle; nay, make

make his Country tributary, as King *John* did, to the Pope, and all juſtly, and without any Complaint to be made. But a King of *England* is not King *ex Dominio*, as they call it, but by Law; nor can he give away that Right by Prerogative, which his very Office is made to preſerve. Now, it is evident that Trade is as much the Subject's Property, as any Part of the Land of this Nation; nay, and ſuch a Property as maintains much the Majority of the People. Such a Peace therefore as deſtroys, or leſſens, or injures Trade, is diſpoſing of the Property of the People; eſpecially a Trade fix'd on them by Act of Parliament; ſuch as that of *Newfoundland*, which this Peace has betray'd to the *French* in great Part. Whenever therefore the Crown makes an injurious Peace to the People, the Miniſters who tranſact at it, are accountable for it, for the King can do no Wrong.

THUS much, my L—, for what the Noble L— who ſpoke laſt, has urg'd on the formidable Head of the Prerogative of the Crown, in making Peace and War. I now come to the ſpecious Reaſons made by him, in Juſtification of the Peace that was made. To ſay nothing of Breach of our Articles of Alliance, in treating with the Enemy without the Conſent or Knowledge of our Allies, whereby is broken the eighth Article of Alliance between *Great Britain*, the *Emperor*, and the *States General*, which imports, *That the War being once begun, it ſhall not be lawful for any of the Allies to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unleſs it be jointly, and with the Participation and Advice of the other Party; nor ſhall the ſaid Peace be concluded, till a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction has been obtain'd for the Emperor*; and that in the Treaties made in the Years 1703 and 1704, with the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy*, the Reſtitution of the Monarchy of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is laid down as a Foundation; and in the Treaty with *Savoy*, it is declar'd in particular, that the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*, look upon that Reſtitution as their own Concern. I will not, my L—,

I ſay, urge the Perfidy ſhewn by our late Miniſtry, in breaking through all theſe ſolemn Engagements, ſince that has been already mention'd to you by thoſe Noble L— who ſpoke to this Point before me. I ſhall only conſider whether the Intereſt of this Nation, that is in Reality inſeparable from that of the common Cauſe, be effectually ſecur'd by this Peace, and the Meaſures taken by the late Miniſtry.

It would be loſing of Time to prove, that the Intereſt and Security of the Allies, and by Conſequence of *Britain* likewiſe, can no where be found, but in a perfect Balance of Power between the two Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, becauſe every Body ſeems to agree in it. The Queſtion therefore was at the Concluſion this Peace, *Wherein it conſiſts*? It is plain, that before the Year 1711, Her Majeſty and the *Britiſh* Parliament entertain'd very differing Thoughts of this Matter, from the Concluders of the preſent Peace, as is plain from Her Majeſty's Speech, *Nov.* 9, 1703, and the Addreſſes of Thanks of both Houſes thereupon; Her Majeſty's Speech the 27th of *October* 1705; the Addreſſes of the Lords, *Nov.* 1. 1705; the Addreſs of the Commons, *Nov.* 6, 1705; the Queen's Speech, *Dec.* 7, 1706; the Addreſs of the Lords, *Dec.* 5, and and that of the Commons, *Dec.* 19, 1706; the Queen's Anſwer to this laſt Addreſs; the Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners to the Parliament, *Nov.* 18, 1708, and the Lords Addreſs thereupon.

After theſe *venerable Authorities*, I think there needs no Reflections of mine; for from theſe Things are apparent the Thoughts of the late King *William* the Deliverer of *Great-Britain*, and of Her Majeſty Queen *Anne*, and of both Houſes of Parliament, jointly and ſeparately, that is, the pureſt Senſe of the whole *Britiſh* Nation, of the *High Allies*, and indeed, of all *Europe*, (except the *French* only) who with one Voice cry out by the Mouth of the *Britiſh* Parliament, *The War is juſt and neceſſary; the Balance of Power in* Europe *cannot be reſtor'd, but by reſtoring the Monarchy of* Spain *to the Houſe*

Houſe of Auſtria; *no Peace can be ſafe, honourable, or laſting, whilſt the* French *King is in a Condition to break it.* Nothing can be more forcible, more convincing, and more to the Purpoſe. But if we will have Recourſe to *Experience*, the ſureſt, tho' at the ſame Time the deareſt Way of Information, we have the *Experience* of above Forty Years, from the Peace of *Munſter*. For notwithſtanding thoſe famous Treaties, which reſtoring Peace to the *Emperor*, and the *United Provinces*, ſeem'd to have reſtor'd the *Balance of Power*, and ſecur'd the Liberty of *Europe*; *France* carry'd on the War againſt *Philip* in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, and forc'd that Prince to conclude a diſadvantgeous Peace in the Year 1659. But as ſoon as this *Pyrenean* Treaty was ſign'd, the *Balance* of the *two Powers* was deſtroy'd; and from that fatal Day, the Influence of *France* reach'd from one End of the World to the other, almoſt without Exception. It was felt in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, by the ruining of their Trade, and eſtabliſhing of ſeveral Companies; in *Lorain*, by the Oppreſſion of Duke *Charles* and his Subjects; in *Spain*, by the ſolemn Preparations exacted from King *Philip*, about the Diſputes that happen'd between the Ambaſſadors of the Two Crowns; in *England*, by the Sale of *Dunkirk*; at *Genoa*, by the Neceſſity impos'd on that Re-public, to expel Cardinal *Imperiali*, one of their Nobles, who had taken Sanctuary there; in *Africa*, by the Wars againſt *Tunis*, *Algeir*, and *Tripoly*; at *Rome*, by the Treaty of *Piſa*, the Erection of the *ignominious Pyramid*, and the *Legation* of Cardinal *Chigi*, the Pope's Nephew; all which happen'd within the Space of ſeven Years. Then came the War of 1667, in which *France* took eleven Towns in one Campaign, and the whole *French Comtè* in a few Days. This occaſion'd the *Triple League* in 1668, tho' the ſame was broken three Years after, to the Damage of all *Europe*. In 1670 the Moſt Chriſtian King ſeiz'd on all *Lorain*, without any Oppoſition; and, in 1671, the bare Progreſs he made into the *Netherlands*, to

fortify

fortify *Dunkirk*, caſt all *Spain* into an Alarm. In 1672, he fell on the *United Provinces*, and penetrated beyond *Utrecht*, without ſending ſo much as a Herald to denounce War.

A Detail of what has happen'd ſince, my L——, would be tedious and uſeleſs, ſince every Body knows on what Conditions the Peace of *Nimeguen* was made, and how well it was obſerv'd; upon what Pretences *Strasburg* was taken, *Caſſel* bought, *Luxemburg* conquer'd, and *Genoa* bombarded. Nor is the World ignorant, on what Foot the Truce was made in 1684, or how powerful and dreadful the Influence of *France* was in *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*. Call to mind the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* and *Cologn*; the Tranſactions in *England*, and at *Rome*, from the Year 1685 to 1689. Then take a Review of the Events of the War after the *Revolution*, and of the haughty Carriage of *France* in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; attend the Steps of that Crown, and in the Execution of that Peace, in her Treaty of *Partion*, and in the General Invaſion of all the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. Conſider in all theſe, her State, her Splendor, her Loftineſs, her Credit, her Power; view the Richneſs of her Commerce, her vaſt Revenues, the great Number of her fortify'd Towns, the Extent of her Conqueſts, and the Strength of her Armies and Fleets. Certainly if you reflect on all theſe, if you conſider that ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, *France* is only beholden to her own Forces, for all the Advantages, and the Predominance ſhe has uſurp'd over the reſt of *Europe*; that ſhe always made War without *Allies*; that ſhe has defeated the Enemies Armies, fir'd their ſtrong Towns, and conquer'd their Provinces; and that ſhe never made any Treaty with them, without retaining Part of her Conqueſts. If, I ſay, you fix your whole Thoughts on all theſe Things, and with an unprejudic'd Mind you afterwards conſider the Condition of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in her two Branches, what ſhe has been able to do againſt ſo many unjuſt Aſſaults,

ſince

ſince the Time of the ſaid *Pyrenean Treaty*; her conſtant and irreparable Loſs; the Neceſſity which the *Emperor*, *Holland*, *England*, and ſeveral other Princes and States, to join their Forces and Councils for their common Safety; the ſmall Succeſs which their united Arms had in the former Wars, and the Danger they were in of a total Subverſion at the Beginning of the laſt, you will undoubtedly agree, that the taking away from the Houſe of *Auſtria* one Half of her Dominions, (and that the moſt valuable Half by much) to give them to a Prince of *France*, cannot be the Means of reſtoring the Balance, and ſecuring the Liberty of *Europe*. There is no great Skill in the Mathematics requir'd to comprehend, that the more one takes from the Weak, to give to the Strong, the farther one goes from the Point of Equality, eſpecially if the Forces of the Stronger are united, and thoſe of the Weaker divided and diſpers'd. This is, however, that our Peace-makers have done in this Peace which they have given us.

But, in order to come to a true Knowledge of an *Equilibrium*, or Balance, between the two Houſes, we muſt endeavour to get a true Eſtimate of the Strength and Weakneſs of both. But, my L—, it is not the Diverſity of Provinces and Languages, or by the Extent of Dominions, that is to be known; for, by that, the *Grand Seignior* alone would be more potent than all *Europe* put together: Nor is it to be known by the Number or Majeſty of Crowns, for Power and Dignity do not always go together. But the Power of Princes is to be known, *Firſt*, by the Greatneſs of their Revenues, ordinary and extraordinary. *Secondly*, by the Richneſs and Extent of their Trade. *Thirdly*, by the Number of their Forces, both in Peace and War. *Fourthly*, by the State of their Marine and Naval Forces. *Fifthly*, by the Number and Goodneſs of their Fortreſſes. *Sixthly*, by the unneceſſary Expences they defray. And, *Seventhly*, by their Victories and Conqueſts. As to the *firſt*, the fix'd Revenues of the King of *France*, did, in the Year 1688, amount to near

ſixty

ſixty Millions of Crowns; and the extraordinary Sums he has rais'd ſince, are not leſs than forty Millions of Crowns yearly; ſo that he does actually levy above 100 Millions of Crowns *per Annum*: Whereas thoſe of the Monarchy of *Spain* do not amount to above twenty Millions of Crowns; nor do thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria* exceed the ſame Sum; ſo that the two Branches of that Houſe together, cannot ſpend above forty Millions of Crowns *per Ann.* which, in Proportion to the Revenues of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, makes only $\frac{2}{7}$ againſt $\frac{5}{7}$. As to the *ſecond Point*, if we examine their Commerce, the Proportion will be much the ſame; that of *Spain* being very little, that of *Naples* and *Sicily* leſs, and that of the *Netherlands* nothing at all. We muſt conſider, that the Treaſures of the *Indies*, which ſupply the Luxury of all *Europe*, don't enrich the *Spaniards*; and if the Kings of *Spain* had no more of them than what is their Due, they would ſcarce be able to make a Million and half of Crowns *per Annum*. Every one almoſt knows the hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*, are not proper for Commerce, either by their Situation or Product: That the Gold Mines of *Hungary*, do not produce 15 *per Cent.* to thoſe that farm them; and, that excepting the Mines and Pearls of *Sileſia*, the reſt ſignify nothing.

As to the *third Point*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* is ſo far from being equal to *France* in Number of Troops, that all the Confederates together are ſcarce able to equal them. 'Tis well known, that the *French* King maintains 200000 Men in Time of Peace, and 350000 in Time of War: Whereas the late King *Charles* II, in the former War, kept only 35000 in *Spain*, 15000 in the Dutchy of *Milan*, 16000 in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; 2000 in the Places of *Tuſcany*, and 20000 in the *Netherlands*; in all 85000 Men. The preſent Emperor has lately had on Foot above 130000 Men, of which 100000 ſtood againſt *France*; but then he exerted his utmoſt Efforts, and imploy'd all

all the Revenues of *Italy* and *Bavaria* for their Maintenance. The Houſe of *Auſtria* might indeed, as formerly, entertain 200000 Men, provided the *Spaniſh* Monarchy had not been taken from her; but what Proportion is there between 200000 Men diſpers'd throughout *Europe*, and 350000 Men collected together in the Kingdom of *France* alone? Where then ſhould we find the exorbitant Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, of which our late Managers was ſo fearful? Perhaps (which is the Point) in her Maritime Power? and how do we know, but that the Court of *Vienna* may equip a Fleet on the *Danube*, capable of bombarding *Breſt*, *Toulon*, and *London*? Pardon the Railery, it was ſo obvious from the Abſurdity of thoſe Notions, that I could not paſs it. But believing the Matter of Fact, that *Charles* II of *Spain* never had 15 Men of War together; and it is certain, that the *French* King had, in the Year 1689, 120 of the fineſt Men of War in the World, 45 Galleys, and Arſenals and Store-houſes, not to be match'd elſewhere. In the *fifth Place*, the ſame may be ſaid of the fortify'd Towns, of which there are 130 in the Kingdom of *France*, the leaſt of which, is able to hold out againſt a Royal Army, and 60 of them are Maſter-Pieces, juſtly admir'd by all that ſee them. The Houſe of *Auſtria* has indeed as many, if not more; but the Difference is, that thoſe of *France* lie ſo contiguous, that they ſeem ſo many Baſtions round its Contingent; and the Court having its Reſidence far in the *Centre*, is always near enough to diſpatch Orders, and ſend immediate Succours; whereas thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are diſpers'd in *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, *Barbary*, *Low-Countries*, *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Carinthia*, *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Tyrol* on the *Rhine*, and elſe where, which in ſome manner bars any Communication. Beſides, that the Frontiers guarded by thoſe Places, are of ten Times greater Extent than thoſe of *France*, and, which is more, are to be garriſon'd out of the 200000 Men, which is all the Houſe of *Auſtria* can maintain. Tho' (in the *ſixth Place*) unneceſſary Expences don't con-

tribute to the Greatneſs of Princes, yet they may ſerve as Indications to form a Judgment thereupon. There never was a Prince more expenſive, magnificent, and generous, than the *French* King, witneſs his Furniture belonging to his Palaces, Gardens, and Feaſts; the prodigious Number of his Domeſtick Officers, and immenſe Riches he has heap'd on thoſe that have ſerv'd him; the boaſted Works for the Communication of Seas; the vaſt Number of Penſioners, both within and without his Kingdom. There is nothing like this in the Houſe of *Auſtria*; they have no Funds for Magnificence, being perpetually harraſs'd by indiſpenſible Wars.

In the *laſt Place*, to ſpeak of the *French* King's Victories and Conqueſts, would be too tedious; the Authors of that Nation having been verboſe enough on them, I ſhall content my ſelf with giving a bare Liſt of his Conqueſts, from the Treaty of *Munſter*, to the Peace of *Ryſwick*. They comprehend eight Sovereign Provinces, two Arch-Biſhopricks, nine Biſhopricks, thirty of the ſtrongeſt Places in the World, ſeventy Cities, ſome of them being reckon'd among the fineſt in the World, and about 3000 Market Towns or Villages.

But it is pretended by the L—— that ſpoke laſt, that the Death of the late Emperor *Joſeph*, has very much chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, and paticularly in Relation to the *Ballance of Power*; they pretend, that all the vaſt Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* being re-united with the Imperial Crown, in the Perſon of one, will form to him a greater Power, than when they were divided into two Monarchies; and that this Change happening in the Things themſelves, the ſame ought naturally to occaſion an Alteration in the Meaſures. I need not repeat the reſt. —— I confeſs, I can clearly comprehend, that the Monarchy of *Spain*, being joyn'd to that of *Germany*, will form a new Monarchy, equal in Power to the two former; but I cannot conceive that the new Monarchy will be any more powerful than the two before were; nay, there are a

good

good many Reaſons to fear the Contrary. For the chief Cauſe why the Power of the Kings of *Spain* was not proportionable to their Dominions, being the Remoteneſs of theſe from the Sovereign, which oblig'd him to govern them by Viceroys, that Inconvenience will be doubled bythe Perſon of a ſingle Monarch.

THE preſent Emperor indeed might, after the Example of *Charles* V, divide his Reſidence between *Spain* and *Germany*, according as Occaſion might require, yet will not his Dominions be ever the more join'd, his People more rich, or his Commerce more flouriſhing, his Fleets ſtronger, his Revenues larger, or the Exchequer leſs incumber'd: How then will he be more powerful? What is alledg'd as to the Imperial Dignity, concludes nothing; for it is notorious, it brings no Revenue to the Poſſeſſor, nor does he agitate and determine the Eſtates of the Empire, without conſulting them, as has been urg'd. The Hiſtory of the two laſt Electors of *Cologn*, and of the Elector of *Bavaria*, Son-in-Law to the Emperor *Leopold*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor *Joſeph*, clearly demonſtrates the contrary.

IT is a Jeſt to call that the leſſer Power, which oppreſſes the other, takes Towns and Provinces, actually maintains them, and has carried on a War for Ten Years together, not only againſt that other Power, but againſt that of *Europe*, united for the common Defence of their Liberty.

AS to the Conſequences that are drawn from the Childhood of the *Dauphin*, in my Opinion, my L—, that we ought rather to apprehend the uniting of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in one and the ſame Intereſt, than on the contrary, to ſee *France* become unconcern'd for the preſent King of *Spain*, and the latter heartily zealous for the Maritime Powers. All Things are indeed ſubject to Change, and more ſurpriſing Turns have happened: But there is no depending on any ſuch Change; nay, we ought rather to judge of Things to come by the preſent, than of the

preſent

preſent by the Appearances. There are three Reaſons which ought to engage *France* to endeavour to preſerve an Authority in *Spain*: The firſt is, the Riches of the *Indies*, which thereby circulate through their Kingdom, and exclude all other Nations. The ſecond is the Diſpoſal of all the Ports in *Spain* at Pleaſure; and the third is the Dominion of the *Mediterranean*; and thereby the Advantage it gives all her Deſigns alike on *Italy*, *Afric.* or the *Levant* Trade, and her private Cabals at the Court of *Rome*. And there are three other Reaſons no leſs powerful, which ought to hinder the preſent King of *Spain* and his Succeſſors, from ſeparating their Intereſt from thoſe of *France*. Firſt, That the Crown finding itſelf oblig'd to maintain War, he will be always ſure of it's Aſſiſtance. Secondly, By this Aſſiſtance, he can eaſily eſtabliſh ſuch an Arbitrary Power in *Spain*, as is now in *France*. Thirdly, That there is no Power in *Europe* that lies ſo contiguous to do him either much Good or Hurt, as *France*.

We may indeed with ſome Shew of Reaſon believe, that during a Minority, the Monarchy of *France* will be leſs active; the good Will and Pleaſure of the Regents leſs forcible than thoſe of *Lewis the Great*, to open the Purſes of his Subjects; and a *Minority* may procure us a Peace for nine or ten Years, or twelve at moſt; but after this a new King will appear upon the Throne, equally ambitious and undertaking with his Predeceſſors: A long Peace will have fill'd his Exchequer; Trade will have brought Plenty into his Dominions, and his People will have forgotten their paſt Miſeries; old Maxims will be reviv'd, the Seas will be cover'd with Fleets, and the Fields with Armies, and then they will cruſh all together, or one after another.

This therefore being thus fairly laid before you, you may make the fairer Judgment of the Queſtion, and ſee whether an *Impeachment* is not abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure theſe Nations and all *Europe*, from thoſe Evils which are ſo viſibly coming upon us, by the Means of the Male-Adminiſtration of our late Managers.

FINIS.